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ABSTRACT

The greatest impact on public education and the preparation of professional personnel for public schools has been the thrust to equalize educational opportunities for minorities. This push has been complicated by such things as the way educators define equality of educational opportunities. Two basic and differing views have been revealed--the equal access view and the equal benefits view. Schools can look "positively" or "negatively" at the consequences or effects of Mexican group membership on student achievement and performance. In addition, educators view the causes of student performance as being primarily "internal" or "external." By juxtaposing the external-internal continuum with the positive-negative one, a four-fold classification scheme for analyzing educational approaches in the Mexican American's education is obtained, i.e., a culturally pluralistic approach. Probably the most serious problem fact of present school organization is that schools are geared primarily to serve monolingual, white, middle class, Anglo clients. However, assuming a genuine commitment toward a culturally pluralistic system, the system change response needs to involve the use of minority language, include minority history and cultural heritage materials in the curriculum increase representation of minority members in key role and decision-making positions, and improve counseling and testing programs. (NQ)

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"PROBLEMS AND ISSUES IN PREPARING TEACHERS OF BICULTURAL CHICANO YOUNGSTERS"

By
Tomás A. Arciniega

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San Diego State University

This is an Institute for Cultural Pluralism (ICP) publication.

The ICP, under the direction of Dr. M. Reyes Mazón functions in a research and development capacity—in the areas of teacher training for the linguistically and culturally distinct child—within the School of Education at San Diego State University. It is committed to the concept of a culturally pluralistic society and as such its efforts are dedicated to creating an atmosphere of understanding and acceptance of cultural diversity in our educational system and the larger society.

PREFACE

A great need exists to accept culturally pluralistic models in the planning, implementation and administration of educational programs in American schools. Much has appeared in the literature in recent years concerning cultural pluralism in education, and many policy statements relative to cultural pluralism have been formulated by educators. However, Dr. Arciniega's monograph presents one of the first major efforts to apply the pluralistic approach to the operation of a school district by highlighting the important role of the classroom teacher. In his model, Dr. Arciniega focuses on the multiple issues faced by the culturally and linguistically different children. He emphasizes the need to change the process of schooling in order to facilitate instruction for all groups, rather than expending effort in the attempt to change groups of children to fit the school establishment.

The growing interest in bilingual education is evidence of this country's interest in cultural pluralism. Our national policy encourages bilingual-bicultural education in our public schools. In increasing numbers, state governments are enacting legislation mandating bilingual education and appropriating monies for development and implementation of bilingual-bicultural programs. Thus, we are now moving toward an integrated educational policy for bilingual-bicultural education. The federal government is providing money for research, development and teacher training, while the state governments are providing statutory mandates for the program. An emerging social-philosophical stance is enabling state and federal judicial systems to render decisions requiring public schools to provide equal education for non-English-speaking children and adults.

An analysis of this emerging philosophy points to four major goals in the area of bilingual-bicultural education over the next five years.

1. We must eradicate the concept that non-English-speaking youngsters are "disadvantaged" much the same as youngsters from low income families. This does not negate the fact that many non-English-speaking youngsters do in fact come from low income homes, but it does point out that children who come to school able to speak a language other than English have a significant contribution to make, linguistically and culturally, to the monolingual English-speaking student and to the total cultural environment of the school.
2. National education policy must engender a philosophy that children should learn in two languages and be able to perform academically in both during the early stages of schooling.

3. Through federal support, great strides have been made in developing classroom instructional materials and curriculum materials; nevertheless a great need still exists. It is somewhat disturbing that commercial publishers and producers have not made substantial efforts in the area of bilingual-bicultural materials. Although the market is narrow and fragmented, nevertheless with proper attention to the rising market, and with increasing federal and state support, commercial education communities should be encouraged to become more responsive.
4. We now have revised legislation that, in addition to supporting previous program direction, gives additional support to initiate a significant program for teacher training. We have learned over the past five years that being bilingual does not necessarily make one a bilingual teacher. Teaching bilingually is a skill that has to be learned and an art that has to be developed.

Dr. Tomás Arciniega's monograph is necessary reading for educators who are in search of orientation and guidance in the current direction in which bilingual-bicultural education is finally moving.

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A number of recent developments in this country have had major impact on public education and the preparation of professional personnel for public schools, i.e., the press for accountability, the performance based movement in teacher education, the systematic reduction in federal and state support for higher education, etc. None, however has had greater impact on the preparation of teachers business than the thrust to equalize opportunities for minorities in public education.

Regrettably and a sad indictment of our profession is the fact that the true leaders of this important national movement have been the civil rights lawyers and the courts. The few actual changes and reforms that have been brought about came as a result of court imposed mandates and not because of a widespread and genuine commitment on the part of educational leaders to equalizing educational opportunity for ethnic minority youngsters. It is unfortunate that the courts have had to literally push us into doing what is right and just.

I say unfortunate because I think there is a lot more at stake here than is commonly recognized. The demands by minorities to make this country own up to the rhetoric of "America the land of liberty and equal opportunity for all" needs to be encouraged and supported not primarily for the "sake" of the blacks, the browns, the reds, and the yellows, but for all our citizenry ... because it is right and just, but equally as important, perhaps, because the survival of America in the future ... in this predominantly non-white international world of ours ... might just depend upon how well we redress past inequities.

My comments which follow focus on that imperative and the implications of this developing thrust for teacher and professional preparation programs in education. This monograph is organized around four base questions:

> Just what do we mean by equality of educational opportunity?
>
> When we say Chicanos aren't benefiting equally from the educational system, what specifically are the problems faced?
>
> Given those problems, what approaches and alternatives are there?
>
> Assuming a genuine commitment toward a culturally pluralistic system, what has to change and how?

Before addressing these critical issues, I want to enter an important disclaimer. What follows is not meant to provide any final or "last word" solutions or recipes. Rather my comments should be viewed as simply one discussion of key issues involved in mounting alternatives to an unacceptable status quo which is working to the detriment of the Chicano in America. It should be emphasized that solutions to specific situations need to be hammered out on-site, if they are to work. There are no short cuts. Any proposals and models necessarily have to be adapted and revised to fit site specific needs.

JUST WHAT DO WE MEAN BY EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY?

The push to equalize educational opportunity has not occurred without complications. An important reason has to do with how public educators have insisted on defining the "problem." How one defines equality of educational opportunity determines the approaches used to attack and solve the problems of inequality in education systems and in the society as a whole.

Research and writings in this field reveal two basic and differing views of what constitutes equality of educational opportunity — the equal access view and the equal benefits view.[1]

The equal-access-to-schooling view is the more traditional. This view contends that equal educational opportunity is attained when it can be demonstrated that different segments of the population have a roughly equal opportunity to compete for the benefits of the educational system. The focus in this view is primarily on inputs to the educational system. The principal qualifying conditions to the achievement of equal educational opportunity are: (1) equal access to school for all who wish to attend, and (2) that all schools be roughly equal in regards to quality of staff, instructional materials, and school plant facilities.

Proponents of this view argue that the decision to secure what the school has to offer — to benefit from the system — is a simple matter of personal choice. Once one decides to benefit, it is his personal intellectual capacity, drive, and ambition which determines the results of that choice. According to this view, the fact that Chicanos do not benefit equally from the present educational system has nothing to do with the existence or nonexistence of equal opportunity. It is, rather, a matter of personal choice and lack of talent and/or motivation on the part of individual Chicano students.

The equal-benefits view, on the other hand, focuses on the distribution of the benefits derived from the system. Equality of opportunity is said to exist only if there is an equal benefits situation and not merely equal access. The burden of responsibility for insuring the type of education lies squarely on the school systems involved.

Two common rebuttal points usually arise in discussions of the equal benefits view. First, by equal benefits, I do not mean that *all* students are to achieve at the same level. My point is that the range of achievement should be approximately the same for the various groups being served by an educational system. Secondly, regarding the distribution of inputs or resources, it is true that a commitment to achieve equal educational opportunity will necessitate unequal allocations of resources as well as substantial increases in accessability. Recent federal legislation and compensatory program guidelines justify disproportionate funding on that basis.

Although hindsight enables the presentation of these differing concepts of equal educational opportunity in sharp contrast, it is important to recognize the historical nature of that development. The definition of equal educational opportunity has evolved from an equal access view to a focus on the effects of school on children. Since the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka case, the courts have pretty consistently ruled that equal opportunity depends upon the results or benefits derived from school attendance.[2]

However, the equal benefits perspective did not receive great national impulse and acceptance until the publication of studies such as: "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools,"[3] the Coleman report,[4] and the "Mexican American Education Study" by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.[5]

In assessing the lack of equality of educational opportunity among racial and minority groups, these reports (particularly the Coleman study) focused not only on the idea of equality of inputs (finances, facilities, curriculum, and teacher quality) but also, upon equality of output in terms of student achievements. Although the Coleman report evoked considerable controversy, and many criticized the predictors used to measure school outcomes, there was ready acknowledgement that the survey had successfully challenged the simplistic equal access view and that a new dimension had been added to the evolving concept of equal educational opportunity.

The move to an equal benefits perspective, although an important and positive development, can lead to at least two different interpretations of how best to achieve equality of results for minority children. One is that equal benefits from schooling can best be achieved by successfully overcoming the negative effects of their deprived environments. It is imperative then that steps

be taken to remediate the deleterious influences on the child of his deficient home, neighborhood, and peer group. This is essentially the rationale for "compensatory education" programs.

An alternative view is that equality of results can best be achieved by shifting full responsibility for student success to the school. The school and societal task then is to create school systems which accept and capitalize on the strengths of cultural difference in a manner which leads to successful performance in school by minority children. The promotion of cultural differences is to be recognized as a valid and legitimate educational goal and is utilized in developing the full potentialities of minority as well as majority children. Equal benefits from the system are to be achieved not by transforming the Chicano or Black child in order to make him over in the image of the dominant group, but by reforming the school he attends along culturally pluralistic lines.

Public schools and universities have insisted on fashioning programs and responses to the needs of minorities from a cultural deficit perspective. The negative results of such stubborn insistence have been documented well by numerous studies.[6] These studies show clearly the extent to which school system processes are incongruent with the needs of minority students. The schools are operating on false assumptions regarding the nature and quality of minority student needs.

WHEN WE SAY CHICANOS AREN'T BENEFITING EQUALLY FROM THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, WHAT SPECIFICALLY ARE THE PROBLEMS?

A number of recent studies have systematically documented the critical dysfunctionalities in existing school systems. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Mexican American Education Study[7] and the Southwestern Schools Study[8] along with the earlier UCLA study of the Mexican American probably constitute the most comprehensive efforts to date. Close analysis of these watershed efforts indicates five major problem areas faced by Chicanos in the current public educational systems of the nation:

1. Inadequate treatment and presentation of the historical, cultural, and economic contributions made by Mexican Americans in the curricular programs of the schools.
2. Pejorative and pathological perspective regarding the appropriateness, worth, and status of the Spanish language as a bona fide medium of instruction in the classroom.

3. Under-representation of Chicanos on school district staffing patterns: teachers, administrators, counselors, etc.
4. Lack of authentic involvement of Mexican American community in the decision-making structures of the school system.
5. Testing, Counseling, and Guidance programs and processes are based on a cultural deficit perspective of Mexican American student needs.

Because the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Mexican American Education Study has discussed these in detail, I won't belabor the specifics of the above and the recommendations which flow from them. However, it is important to examine some important implications of school responses to this different clientele. The problems faced by Chicano youngsters along each of the above dimensions can be presented more completely by describing what I have called the Traditional Tractive response of schools to culturally different clients:

Basic Factors	Traditional Tractive Response
1. Use of Minority Language	Encouraged only as vehicle to learn English and only to minimal extent. Learning standard English is a most important goal because it is *the* language of this land and minority students need it more than others to compete in society.
	Extensive knowledge and use of minority language discouraged because it is believed to impede learning of English.
	Knowledge and use of minority language interferes and impedes intellectual development of minority children.
	Home language use should be discouraged because it is not up to standard; i.e., "not really good Spanish," or "good English." Kids really don't have any real language, they are alingual.
	Knowledge and use of minority language considered un-American.
2. Inclusion of minority history and cultural heritage materials in the curriculum.	Not considered absolutely necessary because one of the goals of school is to "Americanize" chidren of foreign cultures. The learning of history based on New England Pilgrims and white middle class values is considered an effective way to accomplish this process.
	Not considered absolutely essential because minority culture encourages values and traditions which are believed to impede effective functions in a modern, industrial, and competitive society.

	Acquisition of Anglo values and traits by minority members is important goal of school curriculum and the curricular offerings need to reflect that emphasis.
3. Increased representation of minority members in key role and decision-making positions.	Only if they have top credentials (over-qualified) and have the "right" attitude (accept the status-quo and do not strongly advocate major changes).
	Not too important to have representative numbers of minority group members. More important to have only fully qualified personnel.
	Formal credentials are more important than the knowledges, bicultural language skills, and the abilities to work with bicultural clients.
	No recognition that the experiential background of minority members has legitimate worth in the school organizational sense.
4. Involvement of Minority Community in decision making and school program.	Insistence that only qualified school experts know what is best for students and have the training to control the decisions.
	Insistence that involvement of community (particularly the poor and minority) be limited to receiving of information and if they follow the proper channels can submit recommendations.
	Fear that "outside" pressures and demands will lower standards.
	Belief that these "radical" pressures to change and to incorporate minority views in the curricular offerings must be resisted in order to continue to benefit *all* students properly.
	Sincere belief that schools as presently organized and operated are excellent and that all students have an equal opportunity to benefit from system.
5. Improvement of Counseling and Testing Program	Insistence that although it can be improved (after all, everything can be improved) the program is working fine.
	Insistence that present IQ and Achievement testing programs adequately serve all students including minority students.
	Insistence that it is not important to specifically recruit minority member counselors.
	Perfectly legitimate to counsel minority student into non-college careers since most don't have the economic wherewithal to go to college.

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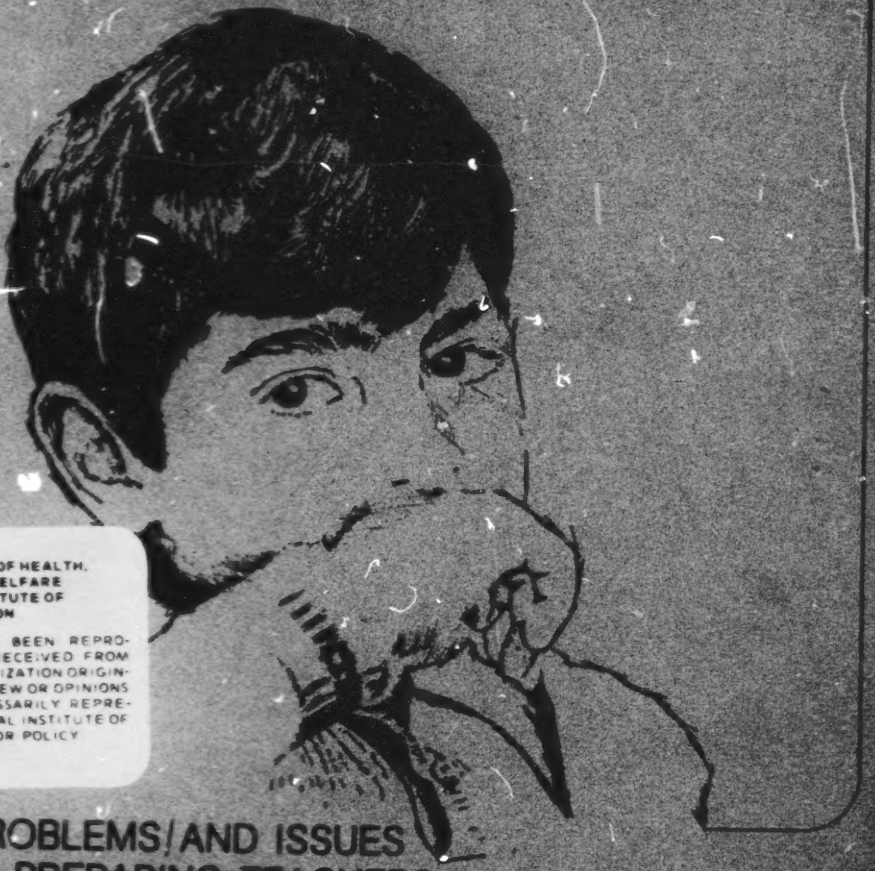

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The above then is "what's wrong." These are the principal dysfunctionalities in present school responses to the Chicano student client.

GIVEN THOSE PROBLEMS, WHAT ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES ARE THERE?

Efforts to develop sounder alternatives to the negative traditional tractive approach can be viewed as four ideal-type school responses to the needs of the culturally different Chicano student. Since educational programs are necessarily based upon some form of assessment of need for what the school has to offer, the various educational approaches to the education of Mexican Americans can be conceptualized along two basic continua. The first involves the stand taken by the school toward the cultural background of the student. Mexican American and subcultural group affiliation can be viewed as chiefly eufunctional or largely dysfunctional in relation to the educational goals set for most students by the school. Or as stated more simply in Fig. 1 the school can look *positively* or *negatively* at the consequences or effects of Mexican group membership on student achievement and performance. Secondly, school approaches can be classified in relation to views held regarding the causes of Mexican American life styles; thus, in addition to viewing subcultural life either positively or negatively, educators view the causes of student performance as being primarily *internal* or *external*.

The internal-factors viewpoint emphasizes factors indigenous to minority-group life and culture. Culture is viewed as persistent and self perpetuating with cultural patterns being transmitted within the group from one generation to the next.[9]

The external-factors viewpoint emphasizes the social and economic circumstances imposed on Mexican Americans by virtue of their group's comparatively lower "status" and "class" situation in U.S. society.

> Minority-group members as a group occupy a subordinate class position vis-a-vis the dominant group. Likewise, they are stigmatized by the larger society because of certain ascribed characteristics, such as racial or ethnic origin, and thus may be said in a broad sense to share a common caste position.[10]

By juxtaposing the external-internal continuum with the positive-negative one, a four-fold classification scheme for analyzing educational approaches in the education of the Mexican American is obtained (see Figure 1). I believe that

this classification scheme provides a useful (albeit oversimplified) conceptual tool for analyzing school-organizational responses to the Mexican American student clientele.

Figure 1

CLASSIFICATION OF EDUCATIONAL APPROACHES ACCORDING TO CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF MEXICAN AMERICAN BACKGROUND*

CAUSES OF MEXICAN AMERICAN LIFE STYLES ARE VIEWED AS CHIEFLY:	Consequences of Mexican American Group Membership and Life Style are Chiefly:	
	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
INTERNAL	**School Type A** *Goals:* Promotion, enhancement, glorification of Mexican American cultural traditions, folkways, norms, and social practices. *Educ. Approach:* Separatist strategies designed to secure control of the education of the Mexican American. Only Mexican Americans can shape valid educational programs for Mexican Americans. Educational programs will emphasize the Spanish language, cultural awareness, and the historical tradition of the Mexican American.	**School Type B** *Goals:* Elimination of the cultural deficiencies brought by the Mexican American student. Inculcation of middle-class values of the majority culture is the principal aim of education for all Mexican Americans in order to succeed. *Educ. Approach:* Compensatory-education programs designed to overcome cultural deprivation. Cultural background is viewed as handicap.
EXTERNAL	**School Type C** *Goals:* Assist the Mexican American to cope more effectively. *Educ. Approach:* Educational programs must concentrate on: (1) providing students with the knowledge, skills, and political awareness to adequately (2) promote constant institutional changes designed to improve the opportunity structure for minorities in America. Biculturalism should be promoted for all, not just for the "culturally different."	**School Type D** *Goals:* Complete restructuring of the educational system as it presently exists is the only real solution to the educational problems faced by the Mexican American. *Educ. Approach:* Since the present educational structure is considered an integral part of the total societal system responsible for the oppression of the Mexican American, takeover and control of the present system is a necessary first step. Once accomplished, only then can the building of school programs designed to liberate and free the people truly take place.

*From T. Arciniega and R. Brischetto's *Typology of Chicano Educational Program Approaches*, in "Inequalities in Educational Opportunity and the Chicano," NIE Research Project 1973-present.

The significance of the classificatory scheme is in the implications for educational approaches that each view holds. To view Mexican American students from a Type B perspective is to peer down one philosophical valley, while to view that same student from a Type A perspective is to be looking down a completely different one.

The following briefly highlights the four basic educational approaches. The purpose of the typology and the descriptions of the various approaches is to stimulate serious discussion and thought regarding conceptual alternatives. No claim is made that this framework provides any kind of "final word" in programmatic alternatives. On the contrary the following should not be taken for more than an oversimplified attempt to frame the various combinations and perspectives which can be usefully considered in shaping educational programs for Chicanos. It should be obvious, too, that viable alternatives might include an eclectic or mixed approach by borrowing from various of the approaches.

Cell 1: **The School Type A Response**

Those who ascribe to this view contend that, contrary to current "culturally disadvantaged" writings about minority groups, Mexican Americans in fact have a superior culture. They stress that Mexican American folk traditions, norms and history must be enhanced and promoted. It is argued that only Mexican Americans can teach their own effectively. Therefore, separatist strategies are proposed in order to set up dual systems to promote the cultural heritage of "la raza." The "separate but equal" doctrine is acceptable to the proponents of this view if it carries Chicano control of Chicano education assurances with it. Likewise the "community" or "neighborhood school" approach is also acceptable if control is in the hands of Mexican Americans. Obviously, segregated schools would be encouraged by advocates of this approach.

This romantic view of the Mexican American has its philosophical roots in cultural-anthropologic, folklorist, as well as the modern wave of cultural-nationalistic writings. Mexican-descent writers especially have pushed hard toward a positive view of Mexican American group life. This is the major theme of the unifying ideology of the Chicano movement.[11] Various Chicano authors writing in this vein have contrasted the "negative" aspects of the majority culture with the "positive" cultural values of Chicano family and general value orientations.[12]

Cell 2: **The School Type B Response**

According to this perspective the Mexican American group affiliation and resultant life style are "pathological" in that they handicap the student's

achievement in school. Mexican Americans are viewed as members of a distinct subcultural group, who, as a result of that affiliation, perpetuate handicapping deficiencies along generational lines. The easy conclusion follows then that, since the roots of the problem are primarily to be found within the group, Mexican American students are viewed as "culturally deficient" or "culturally disadvantaged."

The task of the school then, viewed from this perspective, is to eliminate the cultural deficiencies. Put more kindly, it is the school's job to help the student overcome his handicap in order to enable him to become a "good American." Inculcation, in this disadvantaged group, of proper middle-class majority-culture values becomes the overriding concern of public education.

Nowhere is the "pathological" view held by educators more apparent than in the "school-community relations" educational literature dealing with the Mexican American family. The supposed authoritarian structure of the family is said to stifle independence. All aspects of the Mexican American family are viewed as negative socialization:

> The kind of socialization the Mexican American children receive at home is not conducive to the development of the capacities needed for advancement in a dynamic industrialized society. This type of upbringing creates stumbling blocks to future advancement by stressing values that hinder mobility — family ties, honor, masculinity, and living in the present — and by neglecting the values that are conducive to it — achievement, independence, and deferred gratification.[13]

The overused, tragically misinterpreted concept of machismo also appears time and again to justify conflicting explanations of Mexican American student behaviors.[14] All of these concepts (and I am attempting only to highlight, not be exhaustive) are well packaged in the extensive "value dichotomies" literature, Zintz,[15] Saunders,[16] Madsen,[17] Edmonson[18] and Ulibarri[19] represent well the view that it is the traditional value system of the Mexican American which is the chief impediment to academic achievement. The Mexican American is handicapped because supposedly his value system is oriented toward: (1) present rather than future gratification, (2) fatalism rather than disposal to change, (3) personalism rather than independence, and so on. Vaca, in his excellent review of the social science literature on the Mexican American, calls this view the *cultural-determinism* approach.[20] He insightfully points out that cultural determinism replaced the earlier biological-determinism model. Thus poor performance on intelligence tests and poor achievement in school no longer needed to be explained in terms of genetic inferiority, which

became unfashionable, but rather (using a similar conceptual framework) could now be explained in cultural-deficiency terms.[21]

Similarly "culture of poverty" writers have characterized the Mexican American in dichotomous terms relative to the Anglo culture.[22] Although some of the works in this area cut across ethnic boundaries, the net effect remains a dichotomy of two types of value orientations with the Mexican one being "bad" and the Anglo one being "good." Changes thus must be wrought in Mexican American students in the direction of the "good." The dysfunctional effects of minority-group background can be overcome only by acculturation into the Anglo "good" life style.

Compensatory education programs become important vehicles for effecting these required changes in the students. The majority of federal public-school educational programs are based on a compensatory model. This includes most TESL and bilingual-education programs. The idea in these programs is to use the child's home language to get him away from it and into the "right" language more efficiently.

Cell 3: **The School Type C Response**

This view holds that Mexican American group membership and life styles are functional adaptations to primarily external constraints. Mexican American life patterns are seen as "coper" type responses to conditions imposed by majority-vis-a-vis minority-group conditions. The focus is shifted from *internal* cultural or biological factors to external factors.

Culture according to this approach is viewed as dynamic and adaptive. It can be functional or dysfunctional relative to the goals of the greater society in particular cases. As a proponent of this position, I have pointed out that Mexican American life styles can be viewed as functional adaptations to the opportunity structure of the total societal system and that they are directly attributable to minority status.[23] Regardless of which specific adaptive mechanism is employed by Mexican Americans to cope with a given situation, explanations for lack of success as a group, for example, can be explained primarily by analyzing the factors inherent in the greater societal system. Thus positive changes in the greater society should be reflected in positive changes in the adaptive structure of the minority culture. Mexican American culture is viewed as inherently capable of developing more positive adaptations to fit more open conditions as the situation evolves.

Public education under the School Type C approach must assist the Mexican American to cope more effectively. Educational programs must concentrate on: (1) providing students with authentic basic intellectual knowledge, career guidance and training, along with the necessary human and conceptual

skills about the institutional structure of society and (2) promoting directly essential changes in the institutional structure of the larger society in order to improve and secure opportunities and more equitable participation by Mexican Americans in the society.

Bicultural education programs which give equal status to Anglo and Mexican American culture and language are ways not only of reaching "better" the Mexican American kids but benefit equally the Anglo children involved. This approach, in addition to elevating Mexican American cultural contributions, promotes change efforts designed to effect attitudinal, normative, as well as cognitive changes in the dominant culture. The central focus is that cultural differences need to be accepted genuinely and that we need to practice authentically the notion that to be culturally different is not to be inferior. On the contrary, cultural differences should be considered a valuable human resource. In this approach, education necessarily cannot be ethnocentric and must emphasize that the learning of new behaviors is not inconsistent with the maintenance of desired norms and life patterns found in the minority culture.

The task of educators thus becomes primarily to fashion school environments which will enable Mexican American students to develop positive self images. In the process of acquiring the skills and knowledge mentioned above, these students will be enabled to take on and give up elements of culture in nondefensive ways. They will be encouraged, nay, obligated to preserve cultural patterns not only for their own benefit, but for the benefit of the total society. For as Aragon[24] states, only in contributing to both cultures is the goal of biculturalism truly achieved, and Mexican American culture must be preserved if it is to contribute.

Cell 4: **The School Type D Response**

This view argues that Mexican American group membership and the resultant life styles are negative results of internal colonialistic conditions imposed by the majority culture. Present Mexican American cultural life patterns are considered degenerated reflections of a once virile and strong society which literally underwent subjugation.

The only viable solution to the situation of the Mexican American according to this view is a complete restructuring. The goal thus is to do away with what presently exists and to build anew. Since present public educational systems are considered integral parts of the total societal structure responsible for the oppression of the Mexican American, the public school system must be controlled and taken over. This is a necessary first step before viable alternatives can be developed to the oppressed state of the Mexican American.

Because the societal structure is viewed as having literally "broken" the cultural backbone of the Mexican Americans, the hope is that once the present structure is tumbled, a new society can be built. The new society would liberate the Mexican American culturally as well as economically.

Moore[25] and Blauner[26] perhaps best exemplify analytically this point of view. Blauner first applied the "colonizer" and "colonized" conceptual scheme to the Blacks. Moore applied this colonial scheme to the case of the Mexican American. The social-oppression process common to both consists of four phases. (1) colonizer forces his way in, (2) colonizer constrains, transforms, and destroys indigenous values and way of life, (3) colonizer manages and manipulates the colonized and (4) the majority group enforces power in a "racist" fashion. And, as Brischetto[27] has noted, contemporary social disturbances and urban disorders are responses to this colonization process.

Although none of the proponents of this view have developed educational programs in any great detail, most do share a reluctance to settle for a formal type of educational system. Some alternatives are advanced to formal educational institutions ranging from completely computer-individual learning approaches to complete tele-learning based on purely interest strategies. However, the emphasis is primarily on what they don't want rather than upon presentation of concrete alternatives.

ASSUMING A GENUINE COMMITMENT TOWARD A CULTURALLY PLURALISTIC SYSTEM, WHAT HAS TO CHANGE AND HOW?

Although the discussion presented above did not so state explicitly, the preference of this author is for the School Type C response. This is the culturally pluralistic alternative as described in Cell 3 of the matrix in Figure 1.

Observation and study reveal that school organizations have adjusted primarily in a traditional tractive manner in their dealings with culturally different students. They assume that the "problem" of dealing with bicultural clients centers on the need to find out what is different about the student and then attempt to figure out what needs to be changed to bring him/her up to "standard." What needs to change is said to be the client. What is wrong is the client.

Public education thus has successfully shifted the blame for the failure of schools to meet the needs of bicultural clients, unto the shoulders of the clients they purport to serve. They have pulled off the perfect crime for they can never be truly held accountable, since the reasons for failure in school are

said to be the fault of poor homes, cultural handicaps, linguistic deficiencies, and deprived neighborhoods. The fact that schools are geared primarily to serve monolingual, white, middle class, and Anglo clients is never questioned. This is perhaps the most serious problem fact of present school organizational existence.

Figure 2 presents in more specific detail a contrastive analysis of the *traditional tractive* response and the preferred *system change* or Type C school response. The *system change* response indicates clearly the direction for change along each of the previously noted problem factors. Fashioning strategies for effecting the necessary changes in the desired direction require clear change goals:

Goal 1: Adequate treatment and presentation in the curriculum of the historical, cultural, and economic contributions made by Mexican Americans to American society.

Goal 2: Recognition of the appropriateness, worth, and status of the Spanish language as a bona fide medium of instruction in the classroom.

Goal 3: Adequate representation of Mexican Americans on school district staffing patterns; i.e., teachers, administrators, and counselors.

Goal 4: Full and representative participation by the Mexican American community in the decision-making structures of the districts.

Goal 5: Development of a testing, counseling, and guidance system which is based on a noncultural deficit perspective of Mexican American student needs.

The promotion of such changes has far reaching implications for school districts and institutions of higher learning, as well as for the Chicano community. They'll require as never before the direct and continuous involvement of all of these in the specifics of school operations.

The most important change required to organize authentic culturally pluralistic programs involves changing the people who man the base roles in the schools; i.e., teachers, site administrators, and counselors. Little meaningful change will occur without school personnel who are genuinely committed to the promotion of cultural pluralism in America and to the organization of schools which reflect such a commitment.

Figure 2

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TRADITIONAL TRACTIVE AND SYSTEM CHANGE RESPONSES IN SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONS

by

T. A. ARCINIEGA

Basic Factors	Traditional Tractive View	System Change View
1. Use of Minority Language	•Encouraged only as vehicle to learn English and only to minimal extent. Learning standard English is a most important goal because it is *the* language of this land and minority students need it more than others to compete in society. •Extensive knowledge and use of minority language discouraged because it is believed to impede learning of English. •Knowledge and use of minority language interferes and impedes intellectual development of minority children. •Home language use should be discouraged because it is not up to standard; i.e., "not really good Spanish," or "good English." Kids really don't have any real language, they are alingual. •Knowledge and use of minority language considered un-American.	•Use of home language encouraged overtly, positively, and energetically. •Use of minority language as bona fide medium of instruction at all levels, all subjects, and all school related activities. •Use and knowledge of minority languages is encouraged and stressed in the curriculum for all students; majority culture as well as minority students. •Knowledge and use of minority language considered as "American as apple pie."

Basic Factors	Traditional Tractive View	System Change View
2. Inclusion of minority history and cultural heritage materials in the curriculum	•Not considered absolutely necessary because one of the goals of school is to "Americanize" children of foreign cultures. The learning of history based on New England Pilgrims and white middle class values is considered an effective way to accomplish this process. •Not considered absolutely essential because minority culture encourages values and traditions which are believed to impede effective functions in a modern, industrial, and competitive society. •Acquisition of Anglo values and traits by minority members is important goal of school curriculum and the curricular offerings need to reflect that emphasis.	•Encouraged and systematically included at all levels of the system and across content areas considered absolutely essential for all students to learn about the contributions, and history and culture of minority groups in this country. •Belief that students cannot truly appreciate and value the values and rights of minority groups if the school does not make its study a bona fide part of the school curriculum.
3. Increased representation of minority members in key role and decision-making positions	•Only if they have top credentials (overqualified) and have the "right" attitude (accept the status-quo and do not strongly advocate major changes). •Not too important to have represenative numbers of minority group members. More important to have only fully qualified personnel. •Formal credentials are more important than the knowledges, bicultural language skills, and the abilities to work with bicultural clients. •No recognition that the experiential background of minority members has legitimate worth in school org. sense.	•Full commitment to increase the number of minority members. •Reaching adequate representation takes top priority because there is a recognition that minority role models project an important lesson to all student clients. •Recognition that minority members bring an important experiential background to the school organizations. •Recognition that increase in minorities will benefit faculty as well as students.

Basic Factors	Traditional Tractive View	System Change View
4. Involvement of Minority Community in Decision-making and school program.	*Insistence that only qualified school experts know what is best for students and have the training to control the decisions. *Insistence that involvement of community (particularly the poor and minority) be limited to receiving of information and if they follow the proper channels can submit recommendations. *Fear that "outside" pressures and demands will lower standards. *Belief that these "radical" pressures to change and to incorporate minority views in the curricular offerings must be resisted in order to continue to benefit *all* students properly. *Sincere belief that schools as presently organized and operated are excellent and that all students have an equal opportunity to benefit from system.	*Acceptance that minority parents and community not have the right but the obligation to participate fully in the decision-making process as well as operational matters of school. *Full acceptance that schools exist for all parents; minority as well as well-to-do Anglos. *Recognition that minority views on problems and issues faced by schools are legitimate and can furnish important and needed insights for redirecting present less than optimum efforts. *Recognition that schools as presently organized and operated are failing minority students.
5. Improvement of Counseling and Testing Program	*Insistence that although it can be improved (after all, everything can be improved) the program is working fine. *Insistence that present IQ and Achievement testing programs adequately serve all students including minority students. *Insistence that it is not important to specifically recruit minority member counselors. *Perfectly legitimate to counsel minority students into non-college careers since most don't have the economic wherewithal to go to college.	*Commitment to change and improve the present counseling and guidance approaches. *Recognition that present IQ and Achievement Tests are culturally biased. *Full commitment to the recruitment of minority member counselors. Recognition that they have important experiential background needed to improve on present program. *Overt insistence that all minority students be guided and encouraged to aspire as high as they are able, committed to, and capable of attaining.

Staff development efforts need to aim unequivocally at changing those people who make up our present school organizations as well as those who will in the future. Teachers and the power of the teacher role loom large, if not largest, in the change scenario. The ideal type teacher required by that culturally pluralistic or Type C school is described in three dimensional terms in Figure 3. Staff development efforts at both the pre- and in-service level need to be shaped to produce that type of teacher. Counselors and site administrators will need similar sensitivities and skills in order to implement *system change* approaches to educating the culturally different.

What follows is a brief summary of the approach we're calling Teacher Organized Centers for Multicultural Education. We are convinced it offers great promise for achieving the type of changes discussed above.

Figure 3

THREE DIMENSIONAL PROFILE OF THE
IDEAL TOC/ ME TEACHER IN THE TEACHER
ORGANIZED CENTER FOR MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

From T. A. Arciniega's *"Strategies for Implementing TOC/ ME's"*

I. Personal Orientation

An effective teacher for a TOC/ ME program demonstrates:

1. The belief that cultural diversity is a worthy national goal.
2. A respect for the culturally different child and the culture he brings to school.
3. The conviction that the culture a minority child brings to school is worth preserving and enriching.
4. An awareness that cultural and linguistic differences are positive **individual differences.**
5. A commitment to enhance the minority child's positive self-image.
6. A positive self-concept of his/ her ability to contribute to a TOC/ ME program.
7. A willingness to learn more about bicultural education.
8. A confidence in culturally different minority children and their ability to learn.
9. Flexible human relations.
10. A capacity to contribute and share ideas.

II. Professional Orientation

An effective teacher for a TOC/ ME program demonstrates:

1. Competency and effective experience as a school teacher of culturally and linguistically different children.
2. A knowledge of areas related to bicultural and multicultural education: linguistics, reading, oral language assessment, etc.
3. Literacy in the minority language or dialect of the target population. (Facility in the four language games used in teaching minority children.)
4. A facility in applying modern approaches to the teaching of concepts, skills, and performances.
5. Ability and a resourcefulness in adapting materials to make them culturally relevant to the minority child.
6. A readiness to participate in team-teaching and other innovative staffing patterns.
7. An awareness of the implications of culture to learning.
8. A knowledge of the research in bicultural education and its relevance.
9. A willingness to work cooperatively with other adults (teacher aides, parents, community resource people, etc.) in a classroom setting.
10. A loyalty and a commitment to the objectives of the TOC/ ME program approach.
11. An interest in seeking out additional innovative approaches in the continuing search for better ways to "reach" culturally different students in our public schools.

III. Community Orientation

An effective teacher for a TOC/ ME program demonstrates:

1. A recognition of the legitimate role that parents have in the educative process.
2. A readiness to participate in a variety of the minority community activities.
3. A desire to involve minority parents and community residents in school-community programs.
4. A knowledge and understanding of the minority community and its dynamics.
5. A recognition that genuine community involvement in school related activities can be a positive asset rather than a liability.
6. A willingness to receive guidance and support from members of the minority community regarding the special needs of their children.
7. An organizational facility and skill in sponsoring community service projects and programs to benefit the target community.
8. (In short) A genuine sensitivity to the desires and needs of the target minority communities which his/ her school serves.

The name of the game has to be joint partnership ... among schools, universities, teacher organizations, and the minority community. This means shared power. The business of reorienting school practices and coping with those eternal "games people play" to resist change has to be a joint undertaking with full and direct involvement of all.

TOC/ME do not need to be elaborate facilities or fancy buildings. More than anything, they are a shared state of mind — the productive result of hard verbal, professional, and personal commitments by people representing their respective elements. They can be located anywhere. The crucial requirement is that we have agreed to join together in deciding to organize a Type C School. We will need to zero in on deciding:

1. Specifically what changes are to be worked on first and when — in short, the direction of the change.
2. What university, school district, teacher organization, and community resources will be needed.
3. What role each will play, how and when the various elements are to be involved and who's to be responsible.
4. Once the direction is set, key questions of staffing, staff development programs, and teacher preservice linkages have to be addressed. The university involved at this point must commit itself to shaping its programs to facilitate and support the planned changes.
5. University offerings need to be geared to the staff development needs of the TOC/ME and its target network of schools. Schools and teacher organizations in turn will need to commit their career development futures to the university involved. Community representatives need to support both.
6. Community groups throughout this process will need to insist energetically that all proposals for curricular change and school reorganizations make "sense" measured in *their* terms and the cultural milieu of *their* kids. Schools, teacher organizations, as well as the university involved better listen — and listen well to where they are being told the "shoe is pinching" and act accordingly, or nothing will work.

7. Through the year, particularly the first six months, the policy board representatives will have to assess systematically the progress being made toward the agreed upon direction. It is useful to schedule outside experts with objective insights at periodic intervals. Not that these should have any final say, but because they bring forth perspectives that can be extremely useful in maintaining momentum toward change.

The above is not meant as a complete description; hopefully it does provide a good overview of the organizing axioms for a TOC/ME. The approach is based on the need for joint involvement of the district, the teacher organization, the university, and the community. All must hammer out together a baseline direction, decide collectively how best to implement, and most importantly, commit themselves to sink or swim together in following through with the planned changes.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS AND THE HUMANISTIC ALTERNATIVE

If from the above you have concluded that the author believes that schools do and can make a difference, you are correct. Although I am highly critical of the things we are presently doing to and with minority youngsters in too many of our public schools, I do not agree with Jencks[28], Coleman[29], and others who conclude that schools don't make a difference.

I am convinced that we are presently at a most important juncture in public education's response to the Spanish speaking in America. The Rodriguez, Serrano vs. Priest, and the recent Lau vs. Nichols cases have given important steam and impetus to the need for reform. It is not unrelated that Title VII funding nationally has been significantly increased. And that state level legislatures in California, the Southwest and far off Massachusetts as well have enacted legislative mandates to implement statewide bicultural education programs. The momentum is fast "abuilding" and as I see it we educators have a clear choice in the face of that thrust. We can:

1. Continue to resist and defend at all cost our traditional tractive ways and put down nonconformers or
2. Assume a more humanistic posture and exert every effort to build culturally pluralistic schools.

I want to believe very hard that educators can rise to that challenge. To do so, however, will require great commitment and a real break with traditional and conservative attitudes. Nothing less than the building of schools which reflect a national shift toward a new social order is what's involved. Schools of the future need to reflect what "ought to be" and less "what has been or is," if we are to deliver on the promise that every kid in school needs to feel good about himself and about the contributions of his kind to America. We need to communicate that new reality to him in his or her own language and in a manner that squares with that special cultural background.

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